1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

585 [237] [591] that cow-dung be used for both the *kumdo* and *koresiot*, and if there are no cattle in the bridegroom's settlement it must be procured from somewhere else. Marriage is patrilocal.

Marriage with Nandi

582 648 Eighteen marriages were recorded in genealogies between Dorobo and Nandi or members of the Nandi group:

Dorobo and Nandi women:	5	Dorobo and Nandi men:	10
Dorobo and Keyo women:	1	Dorobo and Keyo men:	1
Dorobo and Terik women:	1		

Marriage of Dorobo women to outsiders seems to be due to the poverty of the Dorobo, which in these cases would have meant that the women would have remained unmarried; such marriages also mean the accession of stock to the Dorobo.

Polygyny

595 [587] Although there is no objection to polygyny, Dorobo seldom have the means of acquiring more than one wife at a time, though several cases occurred of re-marriage after a wife's death or desertion. In one genealogy a woman had no less than four successive husbands, none of them her husband's brother, and her only issue was one daughter.

Re-marriage of Widows

587 Unlike the Nandi, the Dorobo recognize the re-marriage of widows in the normal manner on payment of bridewealth to their fathers, brothers, or other representatives; it is, however, unusual. Widows normally live with their husband's brothers, return to their parents, or else live alone.

Divorce

586 Divorce is rare, and is of one kind only—permanent. The husband can claim the return of the bridewealth. But a wife who has borne a child cannot be divorced for any cause whatsoever.

Birth

843 [834] 844 846 862 845 [224] Intercourse between husband and wife stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and is not resumed till the child is about six months old. Birth takes place in the husband's hut, the husband going to live elsewhere nearby. The wife is attended by a midwife, *ngaitoyonit*, and her mother is present if possible. She stays in the hut for six or seven days after the birth, and the child's body must be kept covered for several weeks, even the father being allowed to see only its face. The mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he must acquire somehow if he has none of his own) and rubs the fat and undigested grass (*eiyat*) from the stomach on her face, breasts, and belly. Children are weaned at the age of about a year. Twins are not liked, and the mother's ritual uncleanness caused by their birth must be removed by the killing of a goat which is eaten by the mother and her women friends. The Dorobo say that if a man has set a trap at the time when his wife bears twins, the trap will never again catch an animal.

553 [716] [883] Children receive their first name, the spirit-name, soon after birth; as among the Nandi, this name is not used, but links the child with a protecting spirit. The second or principal name is given before the child can walk, at the time when it is first given solid food, and is called " porridge name " in imitation of the Nandi custom. Children may also be given nicknames which often refer to some physical peculiarity. After circumcision, boys become *Arap*, son of, eldest sons taking their

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

412 And lying about on the farms. The only weapon is the bow, *keyeyuda*, which the
411 Dorobo make themselves from the *kwiset* tree (*Grewia* sp.); it is about 5 ft. long, and
[439] the bowstring, *iset*, is made from gut of the giant pig, *kumda*. Arrow-shafts are
378 made from the *kerenundet* and *mamite* trees, or from bamboo, *sosiyat*; arrow-
heads are bought from the Nandi, and are of the Nandi patterns. Arrows are carried
in quivers made of hide. Arrow poison is made from the *kabot* bush (*Acocanthera Schimperi*).

Baskets

415 Making baskets, *kereyet*, is a common occupation of Dorobo women. They are
[462] made from fibre of the *phoenix reclinata* palm, *sosiet*, and sewn with bast made from
[824] a plant called *taberwiet*. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat then
285 gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn type and bee-skep variety, the
stitches being spaced out and not close together.

Miscellaneous

317 Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant *teperyuet* (*acmella Integrifolia*).
[268] Red and white earth is found near Timboroa on the east of the Dorobo country, and
[439] men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large leather
[302] bags, mainly in order to sell it to the Nandi who, in 1930, gave them 2s. a bag.
415 Red earth, *orokoit*, is mixed with fat or simsim oil for rubbing on the hair; white
482 earth, *eworiet*, has magico-religious uses. For carrying a number of small objects a
1 carrying-net called *lekuelet* is used; it is made of a pair of oval rims 3 ft. 6 ins. long
with pieces of liana stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of handleless
tennis rackets. These are sometimes used by the Nandi.

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

● 776 *Asista*, the sun, is recognised as a being that can supply or withhold the needs
of people: *Asis, ipiyos ponyek*, "*Asis*, fill us with meat," is a common prayer.
Some say that *Arawa* the moon is his sister, others that she is his mother. Besides
Asis, it is believed that there is a being called *Ilet*, the thunder, who produces rain,
and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dorobo also
believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called *ereuwiki*, a word which
includes the *oiik* (ancestral spirits) and *mumumbwanik* (evil spirits) of the Nandi. The
775 ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Nandi, and
though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit
the living, travelling in the bodies of snakes, both to see their people and to get food
in the form of *lokowark* (honey and water); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

Divination

787 The Dorobo appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have
789 recourse to divination, as in cases of illness or witchcraft, they go to Nandi diviners
of the type called *sakeryuet*, by whom they are charged a small fee. The people
759 called *orkoiyot* (pl. *orkoik*) among the Dorobo are no more than leeches or physicians
who prepare healing medicines from trees and plants. Although the Dorobo have a
789 reputation among other tribes as powerful rain-makers, they themselves say that they
have no rain-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

764 Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 ft. deep in which
the bodies are laid full length wearing their clothes; one year after an old man's
death his children plant a branch of *mukupcot* (*dracaena* sp.) on his grave and let it
grow. Other people are laid out for the hyenas, both sexes on the right side with

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

THE DOROBO OF KIDOI (KERIITA)

History

101 The group described by Lambert as living at Kerita on top of the escarpment, on the edge of the Forest Reserve 10 miles north of Lumbwa, is that classed as Kidoi in *Anthropos* 1951.[1] It was seen by Thomson in 1883 at the place known to the Dorobik as Mawaisi (" place of bamboos ") where, he says, a Dorobo village was established for selling land bought from the Kikuyu to the Masai and the Nandi.[2] This group is part of the Kikuyu Dorobo who occupied the land before the Kikuyu came. The process by which the Dorobo had completely lost their land by 1907 when Tribal passed through is summed up by the Kenya Land Commission as one " partly of silence and partnership and partly of adoption and absorption, partly of payment, and largely of force and chicanery."[3]

Organization

621 There are no chiefs, control being in the hands of a council of elders, with a leading elder called *kiruokindet*, as among the Kipkoimek. Marriage is patrilocal, and descent patrilineal. Polygyny is permitted. Boys are circumcised, and girls are subjected to clitoridectomy. There appears to be some sort of age-set system, but Lambert's statement is not very clear on this point.

There are said to be nine clans, with Nandi-looking names beginning with the prefix *kap-* (which does not imply territoriality, but simply means " group of "). These clans are sometimes referred to by Masai clan names, or even by Kikuyu clan names. The word for clan is *ol-ghatani*, derived from the Masai *ol-gatata*, " clan," and not, as Lambert suggests, from *ol-gotin*, which means not " plain," but " side path."

Religion

●716 A so-called supreme being called *Torosi*[4] is recognized, and the statement describing ancestral spirits as " active members " of a lineage implies the existence of an ancestor cult.

969 Source: H. E. Lambert, *The systems of land tenure in the Kikuyu Land Unit. Part I. History of the tribal occupation of the land*, pp. 67, 68.

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[1] KLYI, p. 5.
[2] *Through Masai Land*, 1887, p. 343.
[3] *Kenya Land Commission, Report*, 1933, p. 68.
[4] = Nandi *toror*, " above."

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

that emotional disturbance is punished by expulsion from the tribe. They described their ethos in the following terms:—

Ko'nech kpâsh ol kwâsh che ndjwah ab che
We take counsel the-matters that we-may-go which-are good and which-are

nech, ol ko-kwa gâk tukul, Ingombe chûk'
bad that they-may-understand(-obey) the-people ab. If-he-refuses the-one

che tukul, ko-ura, ol kwa ceret che,
other say, we-expel(-him) that he-may-go the-country other.

["We take counsel that we may find what is good, and leave what is bad, that all men may obey. If any refuse, he is driven out of one country."]

IV.—Religious Beliefs, Magic, and Medicine.

Religion.

The religious beliefs of the Dorobo are even vaguer than those of the Nandi. They believe in a god Asista (N.), who is the sun and moonshine, and who has a sister Aruwa* (N.), the moon.† No offerings are made to either, but they are prayed to both before going on a hunt. The prayers seem to have one form:—

Asis,* kpây'-nch cmâk,
God, fill-us-with the-food,

or,

Aruwa,* kpây'-nch cmâk,
Moon, fill-us-with the-food.

They believe also in ghosts and spirits (ntindik, pl. ntik, N.) which are good and bad. Prayers are addressed to the good ntik (ntik che ndjwah) to obtain food and health, e.g.:—

Ntik, kpây'-nch cmâk,
The-spirits, fill-us-with the-food,

Ntik, kpây'-nch ngwâk,
The-spirits, fill-us-with the-health.

Libations of honey and water (kpomok)* and of honey-wine (kipkutuk, N.) are offered to the good ntik, in order to obtain food and health. These libations are made from gourds (kumbi), and while they are poured out, the formula,

kpây'-nch cmâk ol kâpâye ngwâk,
Fill-us-with the-food that we-be-filled-with health,

is pronounced.

* I have not come across this particular relationship before in the Nile-Hamitic group; though other tribes of this group hold that the sun and moon are related, or are husband and wife (the latter Masai and Nandi). (*See* Nandi, The Ant, for the ideas of the Sun, Supreme, Turkana, etc.)

† The Nandi also wife.

3:Huntingford E-1 (1921-1928)929 FLA Dorobo FLA

Where a man is ill and dies, it is said that bad silk (*silik che gook*, N.) have killed him; if he recovers, a good *silindet* has saved him. No offerings are made to the bad *silik*.

There is also a vague belief in a future life. A man's spirit is said to go at death to the *kwet ap nik* (N.), or land of the spirits, which is under the earth, and is a bad place.[1]

Magic.

There are *magicians* (*pendindet*, pl. *pendik*, N.) who are bad, and who prevent people from getting food by means of their spells. There are also *diviners* (*arkoiget*, pl. *arkoik*, N.).[2] There is no equivalent of the modern Kenâ system of "arbitrament" or rule by a medicine-man.

Medicines and Charms.

(a) *Medicines.*—For snake-bite, the gum of the tilmet tree is used, mixed with the honey of a species of bee, called "kwenyet" (N.), and man's fat. This concoction is rubbed on the affected part, and a little is also eaten. For coughs, a plant called "*ngoiyo*" is chewed; this is used for all chest complaints.

(b) *Charms.*—Children wear a charm to ward off the evil eye (*sakut*, N.), which is similar to that worn by Kenâ children. It consists of a necklace of seeds of the *kapyawet* tree (N. *kapsosiâ*) strung on a cord, the seeds being separated by short pieces of bamboo (Text-fig. 9b). Old men wear a charm to keep away circumcision (*kimolongot*, or *kimoiin* (*kimoiin*), N.); it is made of two small pieces of the *simotiet* tree,[3] about 1 in. long, which are tied to the belt (Text-fig. 10).

V.—Social Institutions.

Social Divisions.

The male sex is divided into boys (*kipsiâ*, N.), warriors (*murenik*, N.), and old men (*pariotik*, or *ngariotik*, N.); the female sex, into girls (*tipsiâ*, N.) and women (*korosiek*, or *chepisiek*, N.). As circumcision, a boy becomes a warrior and a girl a woman.

Married and unmarried people sleep separately. Married people and small children may sleep in the same hut, while unmarried men sleep elsewhere, often in the adjoining (N.), or "warriors' hut," where they cohabit with the unmarried girls. Though free love is practised, it is not carried to such an extent as among the Kenâ, and although girls sleep with warriors, they like to preserve their virginity till circumcision. Warriors frequently marry their sweethearts (*murenik*, N. *murani*), whereas in Kenâ they usually marry someone else.

The position of women in the same as it is among the Kenâ, that is, they wait on the men, do all the menial work, and are their husband's property.

[1] This word is not used with the same sense in Kenâ; originally it seems to have meant simply "*mysterious man*" (*kwenik*, sp.*ngo*).

[2] *Kipkoiko arokindinoon.*

S:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

681 The principle of compensation enters into the legal consequences of offences against the individual, as well as the principle that in certain cases where the injury is grave the injured party may get satisfaction by killing the offender. Of course when he does this, he has to pay for his satisfaction, but the need for satisfaction may override the knowledge that it must be paid for; and the fact that public opinion recognises a man's right to kill one who offends against him prevents any display of public resentment when he exercises his right. On the other hand, some of the traditional penalties seem to be both excessive and impracticable, even when the need for satisfaction is taken into account. When we are told, for instance, that a man may kill a man who hunts without permission on his land, but that if he does so he must pay compensation, we may be inclined to wonder how such a rule could remain in existence. The explanation is, I believe, that the apparently excessive punishment and the consequent liability to pay compensation act as a deterrent in two directions: the offender may be restrained from trespassing and doing what to his people, from the nature of their life and environment, cannot be anything but economically bad; and the owner may be made to pause before he takes a man's life, even if the offence is considered so serious that by customary law he is entitled to get satisfaction for it. The Dorobo is no fool; he could not have survived if he was. And the African, when engaged in his own affairs, is just as capable as anyone else of restraining his actions.

5. Religion and Magic

a) Belief and Practice

791 Briefly, the basic principles of Dorobo religion are these: There is a God, who is the sun and is behind everything, but beyond the reach of man, who must therefore approach him through intermediaries, the chief of which are the spirits of the dead, which having once been people are still able to maintain contact with the living. If they are offended, catastrophe comes to the living. By means of various observances and ritual practices men manage to keep on the right side of the Unseen World and to maintain the spiritual and material welfare of both hordes and individual.

● 796 "There is one whom we call *Asista*, and he it is who lives above; he is the sun which we see in the sky, and we know no other name for him". Thus did an old Dorobo describe what he understood when he thought of *Asista*, the word which means both "sun" and "god", yet does not imply that the Dorobo are sun-worshippers. Some say that *Aruus*, the moon, is his sister; others, that *Aruus* is his mother; and he appears to have no father. People make no offerings to *Asista* or *Aruus*, but pray to them for help:

Kipendi nemak ni kwakwa kilimoin Asista, Asista, tipiyor sendit, ngai Asis, tipiyor kamik, ngai Asis, tipiyor pamyak, "When we go to the forest to hunt we say to *Asista*, '*Asis*, fill us with food', or '*Asis*, fill us with honey', or '*Asis*, fill us with meat'." Similar words are spoken to *Aruus Aruus, tipiyor sendit*, etc.

Schottingford K-5 (1936-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

The Dorobo, *Ilat*, is he who produces rain, and the rainbow, *emoimoiat*, is his arm, *ne nanye pith*, which draws up water for "him". Long ago, according to a Dorobo myth, *Ilat* was a man, and one day a Dorobo met him standing on a rock on Timboret Hill. And because the Dorobo thought him bad, for he brought mist which hid the sun and spoiled the hunting, he shot *Ilat* with a poisoned arrow, and as *Ilat* fell thundering to the sky, where he has been ever since.

Another Dorobo myth tells that once there lived on the earth some elephants and a Dorobo, and *Ilat* lived with them. One day the Dorobo was hungry and made poison from the *kelee* bush*. In the night he struck a poisoned arrow into one of the elephants, and in the morning it was dead. When *Ilat* saw it, he said: "Who has been killing my donkeys?" The Dorobo cut up the dead elephant and dried the meat, and then had food for many months. When it was finished he killed another elephant in the same way, and again *Ilat* said: "Who is killing my donkeys?" Then the Dorobo said to him: "I killed them, because I was hungry". Then *Ilat* said to himself: "I am afraid. If I stay here, the Dorobo will kill me too". So he called out to *Asiata* to take him up to the sky, and he left the Dorobo with the elephants and went up to the sky. And to this day the Dorobo kill elephants with *kelee* poison, like that man of old*.

Besides *Asiata*, *Aruwa*, and *Ilat*, the other inhabitants of the Unseen World are the spirits, which are of two kinds, those of the dead, who are on the whole good, and other spirits, which have never been human and are evil. Both are called *ememba**, and this term includes the beings called *nik* by the Nandi, the spirits of the dead, and those called *mesumbwanik*, the evil spirits. Both these words are used by the Dorobo. One statement made about them was to the effect that *mesumbwanik kipisie nik*, always *kobeg* follow *ememba*, "the *mesumbwanik* are not different from the *nik*, we call them both *ememba*", because though the *mesumbwanik* are always bad, the *nik* can at times be bad too. Nevertheless, the Dorobo drew a distinction between the two kinds, and refer to them as *nik* (the good) and *mesumbwanik** (the bad).

The spirits of the dead live in the *kwet ap ememba* which is under ground. "We haven't been there", said Arap Cepaaker, "so we don't know anything about it". But the spirits are there, and they come thence from time to time to visit the living, not only in dreams to pregnant women, but actually into people's huts, to which they travel inside the bodies of snakes. When a snake comes into a hut at night, it is not killed, but some honey is offered to it with the words: *Eli, Asaan, i ainabi*, "Go away, In-and-on, for

* *Acocanthera Schimperi*.

* It will be noticed that there is a similarity between this and the Nandi myth given by Hobley, Nandi, p. 111, and that the myths printed in JRAI 57, 1927, p. 444 and Hobley, Masai, p. 264 are of a similar pattern. In the latter, the man is a Dorobo.

* The full form of this word is *ememba* (*ememba*), pl. *emembai* (*emembai*). It seems to be the same word as the *emoit* which Masters gives as the Kaya word for both good and evil spirits (*Old Dwellers of Kenya*, 1943).

* This word, which the Dorobo have borrowed from the Nandi, has in turn been borrowed by the tribes from the Basin Kavirondo *emoomboo*, "spirit".

5(3)huntingford E-5 (0938-1939) 1954 *FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ*

you are a spirit". A man who kills a snake at night in his hut need not necessarily become ill as a result (as the Nandi believe he will), but the ancestor whose spirit was in the snake will show his anger by never going to see the man again and transferring his attentions to some other member of the family. This would no doubt result in bad luck, for the offender would be continually conscious of what he had done. Another account, however, which I think more nearly represents the common belief, is that after offering a snake honey-and-water or milk, the owner of the hut says to it: *Ut si oyon tun ingori lakwat*, "Go and return when (my wife) bears a child", so that the name of the spirit may be given to the child. According to this account, if a man should kill a snake at night in his hut, he will probably be ill the next day unless he pours some honey-wine on the floor where the snake had been in the night. This should free him from the danger of illness. Snakes seen in the daytime may be killed without fear.

The spirits also appear in daylight as shadows (*wrut*) and they may make their presence known by slight noises, like the sound of a stick being broken. When a man sees an unaccountable shadow, or hears a noise for which he can see no cause, he concludes that it was a spirit which has come to see him, or perhaps just come up to take a walk on earth. But he need do nothing, nor need he be afraid, for at such times the spirits do no harm.

Before setting out to hunt, a man asks the spirits to help him:

Cemeliik, okkwe tiony ne kipare,
Spirits, give-us animal which we-may-kill;
okkwe kwenik ni kitipiye.
Give-us honey enough-to-satisfy-us.

Offerings of honey-and-water, *kokwenk*, are sometimes poured on the ground from gourds with a request to the spirits to provide food in times of scarcity. Such offerings are made by people at their own homes when their affairs are going badly:

Cemeliei, epiiyat emdit,
Spirits, fill-us-with food,
ni kitipiye aapat.
That we-may-be-filled-with health.

When a man is very ill, he sometimes sees what he takes to be another man lying beside him for a short time, who is invisible to other people. When he has recovered, he realises that this other man was a spirit who had come to help him to get well, and to take into himself the sickness: *Kweyon ni kotipe, kwo ne kwese chi ne mimi, ni kwaap*, "He came to guard him, and lay where the sick man lay, to make him well".

Evil spirits sometimes attack people when asleep and make them ill. They also play tricks on people and do spiteful and irritating things to them. A man is walking, for example, and suddenly catches his foot, as he thinks, in a liana drawn tight across the path, and falls. But he finds nothing there, and realises that it was done by an evil spirit. In 1927 I was one night encamped on the edge of the forest between Kipkoreon and Timoyo, with

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

a clear, windless sky. About 10 o'clock a curious whistling noise began to come from a certain part of the forest, and continued, on the same note, and without a break, for several hours. It was certainly no human or machine-made noise, and the Dorobo professed complete ignorance of it. A Nandi who had lived there before the Nandi War told me afterwards that it was an evil spirit whistling in the forest, "for we used to hear them whistling to each other like that in the forest when I was a child".

Between people and the things on which they depend for their existence both spiritual and material there is a connexion which is best expressed in terms of a ritual relationship. Things have a ritual value for people, and people themselves have a ritual status which is a relationship with their surroundings that can be altered for better or for worse according to the way in which they respect the ritual value of the things around them. Religion and magic form the procedure which protects these ritual values and status, while political organization is, in a sense, no more than an effort to maintain the ritual status of the horde in spite of the tendency of its members to injure their own ritual status and in consequence that of the horde also.

Certain things that a person does, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, cause deterioration of ritual status; but the original status may be recovered by the performance of certain ritual actions which may involve some personal effort or sacrifice. Examples of acts which cause loss of ritual status, and the means taken to restore it, are: (1) A girl who bears a child before marriage must have the undigested grass (*siyat*) from the stomach of a goat rubbed over her face, neck, and breasts, and must then wash it off. (2) After a woman has given birth, she is in a condition of much reduced ritual status, and her husband must rub goat's fat and *siyat* over her face, breasts, and belly. (3) A man who has killed a Dorobo must have goat's fat rubbed all over him. (4) One who has killed an enemy must have stripes of white earth painted on his face. In all these cases the people have done something which causes loss of ritual status, making them ritually unclean (*ssaa* or *somis*) and so a source of danger to others till they have been purified. The potential danger is removed by means of something which has a ritual value. Moreover, an essential element in the cleansing process is sacrifice, that is, the use of the material must either involve giving up something which is valued, or it must require some effort or even risk to get hold of. The *siyat* or fat must be from a domestic animal: if the person concerned has one, he must use it; if he has none, then he must get one, and without delay, which for a Dorobo usually meant that he had to steal it, and thus risk getting killed while doing so. Therefore there is an act of faith in these magico-religious performances, and people believe so firmly in the efficacy of what they do that they are prepared to risk danger in order to get the necessary materials. The use of white earth may entail no more than a journey to get it, but that still means a personal effort on somebody's part. Materials which are used for the restoration of ritual status, and in consequence have a special ritual value, include: the flesh of goats, which is eaten when twins are born, and in cases of incest; *siyat*, the undigested grass from the stomach of a ruminant (a sheep

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Sometimes people are made ill by evil spirits, which are capricious beings and take dislikes to people without any particular reason. They are said to come to a man when he is asleep and give him a sharp pull, which wakes him with a start. He looks round, and seeing nobody, knows that an evil spirit has attacked him. In a short time he becomes ill, and to cure him, the head of his family, (his father, father's brother or other old man) must sprinkle honey-wine over his head, saying as he does so: *Ui, ui*, "Go, go", ordering the spirit to leave him; and then he will have a chance of recovery.

When a man is about to die, he is allowed to lie undisturbed in his hut, and during the evening of the day on which he dies his body is taken out by his sons, or if he has none, by other men of his family or clan, and laid on its right side (men and women alike) with the legs straight and hands crossed over the breast, on the edge of the forest about three hundred yards away from the hut. If the hyaenas do not come and eat it, nothing is done, the body is just left to rot, and the bones are left lying there. (This, of course, very seldom happens.) The relatives lament on the day the person dies. Those who carry out the body are unclean for three days and remain in their huts, while their people make honey-wine. The old men of the clan are then called together and some of them go up to the carriers, one of them bearing a gourd full of honey-wine, from which he takes a little in his mouth and spits it over each of the men in turn; the other old men then oil their faces with the fat of a sheep or goat, saying: *Omanda anyun, otuiyo ok lakok*, "Go forth now, and mix with the children", meaning that you are now free to meet even children, since you are clean. The old men then drink the honey-wine.

Before a body is laid out for the hyaenas, all the ornaments are removed from a man's body by his sons, and from a woman's by her daughters, who then divide them among themselves. Before the ornaments are worn, however, they are laid aside for three months, after which some of the old men of the clan come and grease them with sheep's fat; and in preparation for the greasing the children make honey-wine for the old men who, after greasing the ornaments, spit some of it over the children and then drink what is left. Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 feet deep, in which they are laid wearing their clothes. A year after an old man has been buried, his children plant a branch of *mukupcot* (dracaena sp.) on the grave and let it grow. Babies are buried in the dung-heap if there is one, otherwise they are laid out for the hyaenas like other people. The hut in which a person has died is not dismantled, but remains occupied till, on account of normal deterioration it is abandoned.

The dead person's soul enters the body of a hyaena when the body is eaten, and leaves the hyaena when the animal goes to ground, whence it goes under the earth to spirit-land, from which it returns periodically to visit the living.

Closely linked with religion, so closely indeed that sometimes it is not easy to see where the one ends and the other begins, is magic. By this term I mean the belief that by doing or not doing certain things, man can control

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

A comet is a sign of coming famine, not merely for the person who sees it, but for everybody.

This short statement may not seem to imply a very great use of magical practices. Nevertheless it is clear from the general trend of knowledge of the Dorobo that the important parts of their life are helped and controlled by magic. The recovery of ritual status after child-birth and after the birth of twins is achieved by magical means; the spirit-name given to a child is intended to link it, in a way that can quite properly be called magical, with the spirit-world, so that it starts life on good terms with those powerful and capricious beings; the whole idea of circumcision (even if it is borrowed) is that of the transition by means of a magico-religious performance from the state of boyhood to that of manhood; these and other observances and avoidances are all magic, and are done because people believe that by doing them they will be enabled to go on existing.

b) Analysis of Beliefs

Ritual Values. Things which have ritual value fall into three categories: (1) things which provide sustenance, or are closely connected with such things; (2) things of the spirit world; (3) things used to restore ritual status:

(1) Honey is sacred, like milk to the Nandi; and in addition to the taboo on eating honey and fruit on the same day, trees, flowering plants, and grass have ritual value because they are all closely connected with the provision of honey: trees, because bees live in them; flowers, because bees get honey from them; and grass, because the flowers and trees may be damaged if it is burned. The last notion means that unlike the pastoral tribes, the Dorobo do not burn grass near forest.

(2) The spirits are offered honey and honey-wine, which thereby acquire an additional value in that their use is directed to both the dead and the living.

(3) Things used for the recovery of damaged ritual status include goats and sheep, and certain of their products, i. e. *oiyat*, and fat, as well as 'butter' or *musit ap tangina* from cows. All these come from sources which formerly were hardly possessed at all by most Dorobo, and even to-day only on a small scale. Honey-wine is used a good deal, as well as white earth.

Each period of life has what might be called a standard ritual status, which is changed to a different standard on circumcision, when a boy becomes a man and a girl a woman, with the right to marry and produce children. The ritual status of normal adults is altered under certain conditions: (1) a man setting out to hunt is not in the same ritual state as when he is staying quietly at home, and he must not have sexual intercourse at such a time, i. e. just before he starts or, should he have an opportunity, while away; (2) a person sick of an illness has a status different from that of other people; (3) touching a corpse causes deterioration of ritual status; (4) the breaking of a taboo affects ritual status; (5) women suffer deterioration of ritual status through the birth of a child before marriage, the birth of twins, and even, to a lesser extent, normal birth. In all cases, the status must be restored by a ritual performance.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Maintenance of ritual relations with the spirits is effected by the recognised offerings made to them; and with 'nature', on which the food supply depends, by other means (see below).

The World Order. In the myths related at the beginning of § 5, the thunder plays an important part, and is even portrayed as a man. One might almost assume from this that he was believed to be an earth-dweller who began a second life in the sky as the thunder-god who controls the rain, for the notions of rain, mist, and thunder are all interwoven, and the rainbow is "the arm of *Ilet* that draws water for him". These myths reflect the Dorobo attitude of the people to their surroundings. One of the chief features of the forest is heavy rain and frequent mist, and it would be surprising if we did not find among them the conception of some sort of rain-being who brought mist. Again, since rain is plentiful and droughts rare, the rainmaker is not needed, and although the lowest known rainfall, 28 inches in 1933 at a place two miles from the edge of the forest (and probably a little higher in the forest), would indeed constitute a drought year elsewhere, in the absence of both crops and cattle an occasional low rainfall does not matter so long as there is enough to make the plants flower. Even a heavy rainfall of 70 inches or over does no more than cause temporary inconvenience where there are no crops to be damaged and the slopes prevent flooding. The Tindiret forest is, in fact, an ideal place for hunters to live in. However prolonged the dry season, the conditions for wild life are better there than in the open plains below, and low rainfall has never yet prevented a supply of game to hunt or trap. Whether the people are able to kill enough game to ensure a supply of food is another matter, and the inter-relation is not so much that between man and nature in general, but between man and the animals. Man's wrong-doing is thought to produce either a failure of the supply of animals, or his inability to kill or catch what is there in abundance.

Social Values. Things which are important to man because they are indispensable to him have what is called a social value as well as a ritual value, because between man and them there is created a relationship which man must maintain if he is not to suffer. The food supply of a hunting people is got from day to day and depends on the skill of the hunter. It is uncertain, because on any given day the hunter may not find game, or having found it may not kill. But precarious as such a life might seem, there is no evidence that in the past there was often any great scarcity from either of these two causes. The old men say, in fact, that whereas food is scarce under present-day conditions, in the old days when hunting was not restricted it was, if not always abundant, at least enough. Such a statement is not, I think, merely an exaggerated memory of better days, the outcome of a longing to get back to the forest, but it explains in part the otherwise remarkable scarcity of hunting magic and ritual procedure. Some hunting magic there certainly was, and fear and ignorance prevent free talk about it; but it is clear that when the food supply throughout the centuries is found adequate,

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

different, for they also are intelligent. Every animal of the forest is alike [10]; we eat some, others we do not; but we like them all. We are of the forest, and they also are of the forest.)

Wild animals for the Dorobo have personality, not the kind that is expressed in the folk-tales of pastoral and agricultural Africans in which animals speak and behave like humans, but a real kind of personality that human beings like the Dorobo can respond to.

Bees, though not themselves sacred, are analogous to cattle among the Nandi, and their product has great social value and hence strong ritual value. Besides giving honey with its many uses, bees provide an occupation which is less strenuous than hunting and can thus be continued by older men who are still reasonably active but not active enough to stand all the rigours of a hunter's life.

Edible plants have social value, but since under existing conditions there is no scarcity of them, there is no ritual relationship between them and men.

The clan has a social value not found among the Nandi, for the Dorobo are not a tribe in the same sense that the Nandi are, and although the expression *ki Okiek*, "we are Dorobo", means a good deal, it has not the same significance that the similar expression *ki Nandi*, "we are Nandi", gives when said by a Nandi. The real unit of the Dorobo is the clan, the significance and solidarity of which we have already tried to explain; and the effect of all that the clan means to the Dorobo is that it has an immense groupvalue, being the element that ensures horde solidarity.

Personification and well-being. Rain and its inevitable concomitant the thunder are perhaps more striking in a forest than the sun, and it is reasonable that they should be personified in one figure: "*Ilet* was a man". This is probably an original Dorobo belief, for to the Nandi *Ilet* has the form of a bird. This personification expresses and fulfills the Dorobo need of personal contact with a dangerous element, and explains the actions of the Dorobo whom SIR CLAUD HOLLIS saw defying the "rain-god" [11]. The notion of *Asis* is much less concrete and definite, and in spite of occasional prayers to him, the conception of his functions is even less clear. Yet while *Ilet* may be regarded as the power which controls the weather, *Asis* seems to be the moving spirit behind everything, with the spirits of the dead as intermediaries between man and 'nature'. It is plain, however, that the well-being of the horde is maintained by keeping on the right side of these powers, and that the avoidance of public delicts is necessary to prevent disaster to the horde. Public delicts thus in one sense come under the head of religion, for their commission entails the breaking of the ritual relationship between man and

[10] That is, although some animals (the human kind or Dorobo) are more intelligent than others, and although the human kind eat some of the others but not all, nevertheless they are all alike, human and non-human, in that they all live side by side in the forest.

[11] Man 1909. 101.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

the other world, and atonement is effected by ritual methods. The primary sanctions against such acts are upheld by the force of public opinion which is based on the fear of loss of well-being through offending the spirits, behind whom are the ultimate powers of nature expressed in the concept of *Asis*.

But these ultimate powers cannot be reached by man, who can neither see nor understand them, and people like the Dorobo (and indeed many African peoples) must therefore have some kind of intermediary. First come the *cesowiloi*, the spirits of the dead, to whom each man addresses his own prayers, and with whom there is a private relationship based on the fact that the spirits were once human beings themselves. Then protection is looked for through the use of tangible material objects in the form of amulets, such as the *lepuyuwet* against the evil eye, *revendet* against rheumatism, and perhaps the double spiral ear-rings occasionally worn, although the significance of the last among the Dorobo is not known. These are material intermediaries in that they act between man and the unseen as protectors.

Formalized religion. The notion of a spiritual being which dwells in the Kiet or 'universe' is crystallized in the word *Asis(ta)*, borrowed from the Nandi with perhaps some of the Nandi notions of its nature. He is identified with the sun, and prayers are made to him for success, and sometimes to his mother (or sister, for the accounts vary) *Arasa* the moon as well. This is the extent of the formal part *Asis* plays in Dorobo religious life, but he none the less performs the necessary function of being a recognized object to which men can turn, especially in thought, for restoration of confidence, which is no doubt one of the primary functions of the formalized concept of a major spiritual being, who provides people with an entity that they may look to for help and protection.

The belief in the existence of spirits is much more concrete, and more practical, for one section of the spirits were once men themselves and are therefore much nearer to men than *Asis* and well fitted to stand between men and the unseen world as mediators. The evil spirits are merely harmful or irritating according as the whim takes them, but they seem to play a relatively unimportant part in the religious life of the Dorobo, however much trouble and discomfort they may cause. They are just things that must be endured. A statement made by a Dorobo that the *musambuanik*, the evil spirits, are the same as the *oiik* or good spirits, is to be explained by the belief that even the good spirits can be malevolent at times, for malevolence is more noticed than benevolence, and it is necessary to maintain proper ritual relations with them to prevent malevolence. But unlike the evil spirits the *oiik* have a definite home somewhere under the earth, whence they return to visit and take care of the living, in whom they take an interest, and the part taken by the *oiik* in Dorobo life may in fact be summarized thus: (a) they can provide or withhold food; (b) they can cause illness if angered; (c) they can desert a man and so spoil his luck and neutralize his skill; (d) they are at the back of the legal sanctions as intermediaries between man and the ultimate spiritual power that controls the universe.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

A general statement made by one elder was that evil spirits cause illness, and good spirits cure it, which in the light of the total of what we know of Dorobo beliefs is more or less a reasonable summary, even though the good spirits can also bring illness. But the fact is that the good spirits are believed to be able to do both good and evil, and that the commission of public delicts reacts on them, so that, in the words of a Dorobo elder, "such things are not done, because they are bad, for the spirits do not like them".

It will be noticed that there is a good deal of similarity between Dorobo and Nandi religion [18], and there can be little doubt that much, though not all of it, has been borrowed from the Nandi along with other culture elements. It is, I think, necessary to mention this, in case anyone should be tempted to find 'parallels' which in reality do not exist. Dorobo religious beliefs are mainly not a parallel growth, but directly borrowed, and the resemblance to those of the Nandi will therefore be very strong both in general and in detail.

[18] As described e. g. in my booklet "The Nandi". (Peoples of Kenya Series.) Nairobi 1944.

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8

776 *Religion and Magic.*—God, the creative being, who long ago made all things, but who is now mostly asleep, is called *Nakwitt*. He was not the first man—indeed, nobody knows who the first man was—nor has he a female counterpart. Otiose as he is, he can on occasion [782] be persuaded by means of sacrificing a goat to intervene in human affairs, as when, for instance, the crops are bad and rain is needed.

791 The wizard is known as *Ngimaroni*. His functions are the same as those of the *Ajolu* of Labwor, and like that functionary he is a rain-maker, who though more efficient in this respect than an ordinary person is not prepared always to guarantee results. Perhaps not more than 20 years ago there was among the Wanderobo a great rain-maker whose name, Longalesi, is still well known to all the surrounding tribes. His powers were widely admitted, and he was consulted, not only by the Wanderobo themselves, but also by the Dodotho, the Jie, the Karamojong and the Turkana peoples, but not, however, by the Dodinga of the Sudan.

789 When the rains were late and the country was suffering more than usual from drought, representatives of the tribes would come in with generous presents of livestock and food. These would be gathered and heaped together near Longalesi, who would sit quietly smoking, so it is related, till he considered the offerings sufficient, when he would bestir himself in the matter of making rain. He, and the various representatives of the suffering tribes, would then partake themselves to a spot called Kalopeto, in a ravine that runs down into the Rift valley, where grows a giant fig-tree near a water-hole that, it is said, never dries up. A black goat would then be brought and be ducked in the water, but not allowed to drown. After this it would be speared in such a way that the contents of the stomach could be extracted without destroying the receptacle, which would then be filled with water. The procedure then was to hang the goat to the top of the fig-tree, while Longalesi called upon Nakwitt to send rain. At the conclusion of the rain-maker's beseechings, the goat would be cut down, and as it fell with a thud to the ground, those taking part in the ceremony would rush in, drain out all the water that remained within the body after its fall, and bear it away to a fire already prepared and cook it. The meat would be eaten by those who took part in the ceremony, and in due course the rain would fall.

791 Longalesi enjoyed a great reputation, and it is admitted, on all hands, that he was a king among rain-makers. He is much regretted by the Wanderobo, who say that since his death (he died in the Turkana country) the rains have been poor and uncertain, and "things are not what they used to be" in his day. His son is, or was, a chief in Turkana. It is to be noted that Longalesi was not a chief, but first and last a rain-maker, and the last of a long line of such specialists. I could gather nothing reliable as to the mode of burial of such folk.

[123] I secretly contracted with the present Wanderobo chief, with whom I was on very good terms, to visit the rain-maker's shrine by the giant tree. We were to start before dawn, but alas! the chief's courage failed at the last moment, at least I suppose so, for he disappeared and I and my search party failed to find him. I never saw him again.

D J 197 A few measurements and a very short sample vocabulary follow. These seem to indicate differences between the Wanderobo and their neighbours. The most marked difference is, perhaps, in their speech, for although the Wanderobo speak "Karamojong," the tongue which,

/68 cont'd/ 611

Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practised. The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts of memory and communion, the continuum being of the perpetually successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again. 591 595 613 769 [775]

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys and a pre-marital rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the Dorobo imitated or joined in the ituika of the Kikuyu and the eunoto of the Masai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is eunotwet. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as onet ap-tai (the right hand) and onet ap-katap (the left hand). When the Kikuyu system is referred to Mwangi is the former and Maina the latter, but the expressions were probably used originally of the Masai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups. 881 561 [777]

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature being a council of elders. Such an elder is called kiruogindet (pl. kiruogik). A kiruogindet has much the same function as a Kikuyu muthamaki. There is no laibon but formerly the Dorobo owed allegiance to the laibon of the Masai. 622 623 [171] 648

They recognize one Supreme Being, called Tururit (compare the Suk Tororut). There appears to be no cult of so-called Sun Worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Tururit, are, for rain the bamboo (a solitary clump), for honey the mukeu, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, the muthai and the mutamaiyu. 776 771 778 [887]

78. Little or nothing is known of the relationship of the Dorobo of Southern Kikuyu with other Dorobo sections. The "Dorobo Committee" called them the Kikuyu Escarpment group, and remarked that they were first found in the Aberdares but left there and went to the Masai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time the Committee sat this group was living as forest squatters in the 101 [628] [166]

13:Hollis T-5 (ca. 1908) 1909 FL6 Dorobo FL6

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

African, East. With Plate M. Hollis.

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Some Dorobo Buttons. *By A. C. Hollis.*

I recently went for a trip through the little known country lying between Naivasha and the Anglo-German frontier, and was fortunate enough to obtain a snapshot of a Dorobo, who was a member of the caravan, spitting towards the rising sun before saying his morning prayer (Pl. M, Fig. 1). Whilst performing this ceremony he had to lay aside his sword.

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The rains were overdue at the time, and I took photographs of the same Dorobo making medicine to prevent the rain from falling. Fig. 2 shows him whistling at and defying the rain-god. In Fig. 3 he has laid aside his bow, and whilst holding his sword upright is rubbing the handle rapidly between his two hands. This is done when the rain-god takes no notice of his defiant remarks, and insists on turning on the celestial water-tap. It is doubtless only a remarkable coincidence, but although the rain offered threatened we had very little till we returned to the Uganda Railway, when it came down in torrents. All the natives of the caravan—Kikuyu, Kavirondo, and other East African tribes—believed that the Dorobo had kept off the rain, and I was told more than once that if it had not been for him we should have been washed away.

197

It is worthy of note that I met some Masai-Dorobo in the Rift Valley who did not speak Nandi like most of the Dorobo in both British and German East Africa. Whether their ancestors had never known this language or had forgotten it owing to long intercourse with the Masai, or whether they had been simply poor Masai, who, owing to the loss of their cattle, had become outcasts and taken to hunting, I was unable to ascertain.

A. C. HOLLIS.

[P. 177]

important aspect is, I fear, irrecoverable. I have been in the forest in both wet and dry seasons, and while trapping is still carried on, I could see no sign of hunting (i.e. shooting), and the description of a hunt is from narration.[1] Fear of a government which forbids hunting, and has of late itself hunted the Dorobo, has, I think, effectually sealed the lips of one or two who would normally have spoken on the subject. My informants, however, did say that sexual intercourse was forbidden before setting out on a hunt, though not before or during the process of trapping. In hunting there is an element of personal danger and of uncertainty as to success; magic helps to give confidence, and abstinence to avert ill-luck. In trapping the process is mechanical, largely a matter of technological skill, and with little danger to the trapper, who is sure to catch something sooner or later.

On the other hand, it is believed that both *Asis* (god) and the *chesowiloi* (both the good ancestral and the bad elemental) can influence a man's hunting, and before starting out to set a trap, he will say:

Asis, ipiiyech panyek,
God, give-us-enough meat,

or,

Chesowilök, okönech tiony ne kipare.
The-spirits, give-us a-beast which we-may-kill.

Honey (*kumiat*) is an important article of Dorobo diet, and provides both food and intoxicant: it is to them what milk is to a pastoral people. It is not stuff that can be picked up anywhere, but requires a certain technique, and, above all, the presence of bees in a suitable place. As, therefore, it has an actual social value, so it has acquired a ritual value, and certain observances are necessary if the supply of honey is not to fail. First, you must have your bees, and a man who has put up a new honey-barrel must take steps to ensure that it is inhabited. This he does by calling out, in an unnatural high-pitched voice, "Bees, bees, all you who are in this country, Come now and make honey here."

[1] Leopards, as already mentioned, are killed occasionally when they become aggressive and threaten livestock; but there are no organized leopard hunts, and in any case leopards are vermin.

/258 cont./

805 192 Today is called legîl or legîlla, tomorrow lâpe or lâbe, yesterday aresch; like the Masai, they have but one word for the day before yesterday and the day after tomorrow, namely, mîlek; the next day is called to samag, the one then following to hag; for the days after that the Masai words are used.

XIV.

000 Religion. -- Prayer. -- Supplication feasts. -- Amulets. -- Sorcery. -- Evil eye.

771 171 796 [821] The religious views of the Wandorobo are identical with those that we have become acquainted with among the Masai,[1] except that they do not call God 'Ng ai, but Uēd. In songs God is also frequently called the black God, Uēd kabiassa; on the other hand designations analogous to the Masai expressions for clouds and the redness of the sky are not found here; the former are called adja kabaka, the latter adja kahoma. Of the constellations they know the ones that the Masai also know, and designate them with the same names. They have no pictorial representations of Uēd, for the same reasons as 782 the Masai. Everyone prays, married people and children at home, the dobonog along the way, if they are afflicted by trouble or illness; in everyday life the dobonog do not pray. The woman prays every morning while making the fire; when her husband and the children see this, they often place themselves beside her and also say a prayer. This always contains only a supplication, never any thanks. A supplication /259/ for protection runs: Uēd sigima gemischin; for children, Uēd nge hawa; for wives, Uēd nge mai; for meat, Uēd nge aga; for honey, Uēd nge agung; for food, Uēd nge e haiug; for health if 775 [171] one is sick, Uēd adudere an. They think about the fate of the soul -- in contrast to the Masai -- only very rarely, even the old people. The author met only a few aged Wandorobo who were able to make statements about this. These coincided with the reports of the Masai.

1, [For information on the religion of the Masai, see FL12 Masai, 18: Merker, category 116, pp. 268-279--Analyst]